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The conditions are no different today from what they were in the ancient days of white slavery in Greece and Rome. This is indeed a beautiful, a grand country in many ways. It is rich with the spirit of progress and invention, rich by nature, but the poor man's condition is no better than if he were a slave. All this country has done for him has been to give him a little more elbow-room. He has a great, beautiful country to roam over, but he is no better off than—in fact, not as well off as—the slaves of old.—William Dean Howells.

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## Party Politics and the Trade Unions.

Permit me a word about that Union Secretaries' Fund. We trust that the comrades are not getting weary of the long race in this matter, and thinking that it will take a long time to reach the \$3000 mark. Just remember that as soon as your little (or big) amount comes in it goes right to work. For instance, all of the secretaries of the machinists and patternmakers' unions are getting the Herald now as the result of this fund, and this is all outside of Wisconsin, which has been taken care of by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

There never was a time when the union secretary would read Socialism so willingly as now, the New Orleans meeting of the A. F. of L. has opened their eyes to its strength, and your dollars count double now what they would have done a month ago. It is the crisis of the history of the unions of this country. The strong element which will tell for union within and among the unions now is Socialism—other elements are working for disorder and disunion, and will bring it to pass. Let us do what we can while we can, and do it efficiently. This fund will do the business every day and every week. You push the quarters and we will do the rest. The fund ought to double now within the next few weeks if the comrades are able and willing to contribute in proportion to the greatness of the opportunity.

The capitalist papers are setting up quite a chatter over the fact that the demand for men in the lumber camps is greater than the supply. This is called an evidence of prosperity. "Any man who wants work can get it," cry the capitalist papers. We suppose this means that those out of work are shiftless and not entitled to consideration, for such is the brutal philosophy of capitalism. The scarcity of men simply testifies to the wasteful and incompetent organization of industry under the capitalist system. At another time there is great anxiety here, at another time there is great anxiety to the exigencies of the caprice of capitalist control. Labor is dragged away from one point to another as it is required that there shall be an army of homeless laborers who can respond. Talk of the safety of the American home! The fact that there is at present a scarcity of labor in the woods simply means that the shifting, homeless labor has been drawn on from too many points at once. If the demand is supplied, tomorrow's shifting laborers may see the demand suddenly drop, and a lot of demoralized labor set adrift. Is it any wonder that from this army of homeless laborers there is a constant precipitation of men to the depths of the social cellar, the inhabitants of which are called "lump" and "vagrants"? But the scarcity of labor in the woods does not mean that everyone is employed. It means that many who are unemployed have families they cannot desert, or that they are not used to rugged, muscular labor, or that valid reasons cannot be got to the camps. You cannot well fit square pegs in round holes, yet this is what capitalist organization of industry is constantly trying to do.

Buile capitalism, would as soon de-louch the young of the land, provided there was money in it, as a wink. A good illustration of this is the Sunday paper supplement, in which an effort is made to cause little children by the editorial exploits of had boys and girls. This sort of thing has grown to such proportions that it is becoming a serious evil and will soon have to be met by concerted protests by parents who do not wish to have their young hopefuls turned into infatigable practical jokes. We have reached the point where it is said, and pranks and practical jokes now occupy the minds of pupils who formerly kept their minds on their lessons. We have the capitalist Sunday paper to tempt for a new and baleful gnat of childhood, heroes, Happy Hooligans, Little Kites, Merry Fatties, Little Samplers, Kids, Doodles, Simple Things, etc., etc., world without end, whose most innocent pranks are a terror to good order, a denial of the simplest respect children should pay their elders,

## "Benevolent Feudalism" Again.—Only a Temporary Escape From Social Democracy.

The following article, written by Arthur McEwen, furnishes food for thought, even though the conclusions of the writer are out of joint. We print it because the liberty of injecting a few comments that may not seem out of place.

"I don't care a rap what happens, so long as it doesn't happen to me," said a gambler long ago, beginning to feel again, when the story of a newspaper distant calamity had been heard from a newspaper by the gambler.

"I don't care a hang; it won't come to my time," said a man in New York last week when a friend urged him to join the other agencies to bring Socialism.

The far denier's philosophy to a dot, though (twain in spirit, no two men) is more widely separated in their circumstances and relations to the community.

The one of long ago was a social outcast, a professional "sport," a good-natured, cynically jesting free companion, conscious that he was beyond the pale of respectable men and decent women, and frankly living in a disreputable, preying upon the weak, and the vicious—a cheviot of the frontier.

civilization—Socialism showing highly developed organization for the production of wealth, but a woeful lack of organization for its equitable distribution. It is Socialism for private profit and not for community benefit.

Of course, this Socialism cannot last. It is but an evanescent phase in the evolution of society. Its injustices are too vast, too glaring, to be borne by the millions of men that pay toll to the tax-gatherers who collect revenue not for the public treasury, but for their own pockets.

Human nature forbids the expectation that this one-sided Socialism can endure. That it will evolve into real Socialism—with the state as the only capitalist, the only employer—as the captain of industry fears and his warning friend hopes, there is some likelihood, since there is in man which craves the individual life and abhors regimentation. What is more likely is that out of the reorganization of society going on under our eyes will come greater liberty for the individual through the disappearance of private monopoly. The state then will be the only monopolist of natural resources and public utilities. For the rest there will be an untrammelled field for individual initiative and private enterprise.

Our present society does not seem to abhor regimentation, judging from the number of persons, from militiamen down to errand boys, who are dressed in uniform. We hold that Socialism will contribute to and make possible the individual life, as the present society cannot possibly do. Talk of regimentation and public utilities. And an "untrammelled" field will only pile up new monopolies.—Ed. S. D. H.]

Those things will be publicly owned which, when privately owned, work oppression to the many for the advantage of the few.

That will not be Socialism, but justice, which is democracy. (Stiff and nonsense. The profit system—the system of getting more than you give—works hardship to all, whether on a large or a small scale. All industry

must be socially owned and operated to produce public relations. The public ownership of all things which work oppression when privately owned WILL be Socialism, and justice and democracy. But we are willing just for a start to have the most oppressive things owned publicly, just for a start. When the people get as much as Mr. McEwen offers, they will not be contented till they get the rest.—Ed. Herald.]

The jug-handled Socialism that the captains of industry with their trusts are giving us would be better described as a new form of feudalism, a feudalism without the spirit of noblesse oblige—that is to say, minus a heart and soul.

When we read of the monstrous privileges of the nobility in feudal France, the variety and queerness of their immemorial powers to rob and outrage the common people, wonder rises in the mind that men, generation after generation, could submit to tyranny so rapacious, so minute, so intimate, so revolting.

But every one of those rapacious and revolting privileges had its origin in use. The first nobles who claimed and exercised them—the strong men, the able men, the great fighters, the captains of industry of their rude age—gave service in return, the service of protecting from wandering bands of freebooters the trembling wretches who had crept out of the fens and tilled the ground and built their huts around their lord's castle fortress.

Long after my lord's services as a protector had ceased to be needed his noble descendants continued to levy the feudal taxes and exercise the other monstrous rights of the seignior who accepted a money payment instead. It was when the feudal lord became tax eater and oppressor and ornaments only, even the memory of their role of service-renderers having died out, that the people rose against them and tore them up out of the fens and tilled the ground and built their huts around their lord's castle fortress.

Our feudal lords, the captains of industry, in seeking their own profit, have rendered a service to the people no

doubtedly. By utilizing steam and electricity by making use of the inventions of others for the employment of these natural forces—they have shown what strength there is in union, what gigantic things, impossible of achievement by the individual, may be done by men in combination. They have given a new lease to the world—the giant of associated capital, the corporation, the trust. They are making the earth smaller and nature more tractable every day, and familiarizing all men's minds with the idea of community effort as applied to business. Their greatest service, one they render unconsciously, or when consciously, with reluctance, repugnance and dread—is that they make certain the extension of this idea of community effort to community affairs, to politics, to government.

If captains of industry may organize with stupendous results for captains of industry, why cannot the people be organized for the benefit of the people as a whole, in reasonable expectation of like good community results?

Where our feudal lords find themselves at a disadvantage is that a few are grateful to them for the services they have rendered.

The French peasant fled to the protection of the castle's walls to escape from freebooters. The average American feels that when he comes within the sphere of influence of any captain of industry he has fallen into the hands of a freebooter.

Our feudal lords have rescued him from a state of competition which he liked, and placed him under the operation of a state of organization for purposes of private profit, which he does not like. Only the captains of industry and their loyal hangers-on like it, for only they as yet profit by it largely.

Early feudal France, besides being grateful to my lord, held him in the profoundest reverence. He was a superior being. Early feudal America is as little venerated as grateful. It may be afraid of the captain of industry, but it does not love him. Still, there are plenty to sing his praises and flatter him.

The modern wage system is a systematic, constant plucking of labor. It is a commercial cannibalism, a vampirism, a predatory pastime for the rich and a grim agony for the poor.

A man failed in business in Milwaukee the other day because he was too guileless for modern business life. But his kindheartedness counts for nothing, his inherent honesty counts for nothing, his nobility of character counts for nothing, for crime of all crimes, under capitalism, he was a failure. Aren't you proud of such a soulless man-crushing system as that? Is it a case of the survival of the fittest when such a man goes down?

The old conditions no longer obtain. The production of wealth has now become a social operation. It should be owned socially. And until it is, the exploitation of the working class by the master class ceases, there can be no true brotherly love in the world.

Socialists will har no man from participation in the fruits of combined industry, wisely directed. Even those who may be unfortunate enough to be incapacitated will be tenderly cared for. For them the rule: He who does not work shall not enjoy, will be inoperative.

Wealth is produced by the workers and is taken from them by the master class. After the workers lose it, it becomes the foothold of fate and is gambled for by all sorts of people and in all sorts of ways. Gradually it works its way toward the piles of the rich, until some of it reaches Wall street, where with snapping jaws the ravenous vultures of speculation get the larger share of it. It is nothing unusual for a Wall street king to clear forty millions by his year's transactions. To say that such a man gets his money by the sweat of his brow is an affront to common sense. It is sheer thievery, and the world is coming to see it so.

What courage and swordsmanship and strength were in that age brains are in this. Fewer and fewer become the openings for an independent career for the man of brains—brains of a kind that are not primarily commercial in their aptitudes. As the feudal lord had his men-at-arms to battle for him, his clerks to practice the depleted art of reading and writing, his scribes to wait upon him, his longhairs to play and sing for him, his toadies to minister to his vanity, so our captain of industry has his men of ideas to think for him, his lawyers to scheme for him, his politicians to fight for him, his literary lackeys to magnify him in the public eye, his sycophants to make themselves agreeable on the social side. He believes he can buy anything and anybody—a law from a legislature, a judge to construe, any kind of brains unlike his own that he needs in his business, and all the deference he requires to keep him comfortable with himself. And he comes so near to doing this that he is not to be quarreled with for his confidence in his pile.

"I don't care a hang; it won't come to my time," said the captain of industry, more that the feudal system of which he is one of the great lords will outlast his lifetime. Very probably, but it is doomed, nevertheless. France's feudalism has sunk its roots

An Italian illustrated Socialist paper depicts Labor, exploited, exhausted and worn to a skeleton in rags, hung to a tree by capitalism, while below the tree and a trifle back from it sit a couple of sensual capitalists at tables waiting for their usual feast, but with no one to wait on them and provide it. They are both pouncing on the tables in front of them in vain, for Labor, the provider and servant both, is swinging from the limb of the tree. It is a striking and terrible picture, an arraignment of capitalism both horrible and true. Capitalism is constantly doing Labor to death, by suicide, by the starvation route, or the like, and is only saved from the plight shown in the picture referred to by the fact that the labor market is overstocked.

"The next time a life insurance man asks you to take an insurance policy for the PURPOSE OF AN INVESTMENT, ask him what portion of the money given to insurance companies is investment—what portion of the money paid in ever returns to the living investor himself. If he is honest he will say about one-fifth on an average, but that is a quite sufficient to satisfy the investor. Ask him where the balance goes. He will say about 30 per cent. goes for expense of management and about 30 per cent. goes to pay death claims; the balance produces the companies' assets and surplus for future generations to dispose of in some as yet unknown way."

In their competition for business the insurance companies are giving each other's tricks away. The above is from a so-called "old-line," or straight company, which wants to deal a blow at the newer style, or endowment companies. With 40 per cent. "clear velvet" out of the business, "for future generations to dispose of in some way as yet unknown," and 30 per cent. partly used in paying the princely salaries of the men at the top, it would seem as if the insurance business as a private speculation were not so bad—for those on the inside!

When a representative of the Milwaukee Trades' Council went to Madison the other day to prospect as to the chance of getting labor legislation through the coming legislature, he found a firm sentiment against any legislation that would put Wisconsin manufacturers at a disadvantage as against manufacturers of other states. Thus the lobby of the manufacturers proposes to play one state against another, with the result that progressive labor laws in any of the states may be headed off as a delegate in the council apply put it. Thus again was brought prominently to view the need of a league of the city central bodies of the country, holding yearly conferences and planning simultaneous labor demands in the various states and cities. President Gompers and his executive council in their report to the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L. drew a doubt on the motives of the Milwaukee trade unionists in calling for a national conference of city bodies, but the convention itself absolved the Milwaukee members of wrong intentions, although it did not endorse the plan. The Milwaukee Trades' Council has made the project a special order for next week's meeting, and will decide whether to call a national meeting at this time or not.

The Cry for Justice, the new reform weekly started by Bernard McFadden, the originator of the physical culture movement that is now being seized up by the profit-mongers, announces its platform to be "government control of all monopolies supplying public necessities like water, food, clothing, coal, gas, etc." Simply another evidence of what is in the air. The old private ownership system is getting battered from all sides. And you, dear reader, are privileged to live at just the moment of the most exciting and momentous transformation in history, the breaking down of the great capitalist system and the coming upon the stage of events of Socialism.

"There is plenty of labor legislation pending, but no prospect of any progress in the new session of Congress. The eight-hour bill will probably have more hearings before the Senate committee and a committee from the Manufacturers' National Association to lobby against it."

So written the Washington correspondent of the Coast Seamen's Journal, and that correspondent is dead right. The capitalist politicians "are on to their job." So long as the policy of Gompers, Sargeant and Furuseth controls the ranks of organized labor, this ignoring of the interests of labor can continue.

Victor L. Berger

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# The American Republic is Sick Unto Death!

The election frauds in Philadelphia are an annual occurrence, but this year they reached an unusual climax of the puerile. The 5th ward outdid itself, for, having cast only 1907 votes in 1917, it elected McKelvey, it gave 573 to the Republican candidate. As an example of the kind of stuffing this is held, in Philadelphia, as a record-breaker.

The American people have arrived at that point of moral degeneracy where they look upon indisputable proof of ballot stuffing with a smile, and their greatest newspapers dismiss the subject with a satirical or amusing paragraph. The American people calling themselves Republicans or Democrats and professing to believe in representative government, stand idle and impotent while their ballots are treated as useless paper and their sacred privilege of franchise is degraded in the mire. Their manhood is lost of a quality to right wrongs; it is too flaccid and flabby to avenge grossest insult.

It is a sign of death; the American republic is dying. Those ingenious persons of the political division called Democrats who point to the Philadelphia putrescence as Republican, and therefore not of their doing, are invited to turn to Colorado, where persons of THEIR label in "Democratic" districts held back the returns until they found out how Arapahoe county (Denver) voted. They counted on so deftly magnifying Democratic returns as to overcome any Republican plurality shown by Denver. The Democrats wanted to get the offices, and the capitalist money goes with them, away from the Republicans, who stand frankly for boodles and plutocracy and hence better deserve them. The only thing which prevented the success of the Democrats in this their highly moral effort was that in certain districts where the Socialist party vote

was big enough to be considered THEY DID NOT DARE TO TAMPER WITH IT.

Democrats stole the ballots of Republican voters in Democratic districts and Republicans stole the ballots of Democratic voters in Republican districts. This is legitimate in capitalist politics, and as both parties do it they have nothing to fear from each other.

BUT BEHIND EVERY VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY THERE IS A MAN, AND THERE IS SOMETHING IN MANHOOD WHICH TERRIFIES THE SCOUNDREL AND KEEPS HIM FROM HIS INSTINCTIVE INDULGENCES.

The present economic system has eaten out the moral fiber of its votaries. Those who uphold it have no longer any deterrent stock of either intellectual or spiritual virility. The state of political decay—the dying state—has within itself no dynamic with which to arrest its dissolution.

One hundred years ago so insolent and undisguised a fraud as this Philadelphia would have aroused the American people to a frenzy, for then their faith had not been emasculated; they were capable of intellectually conceiving that a menace to their ballot in one place menaced it at every other, and they treasured the ballot as something which had been bought with blood.

Now, today, when they are traduced and their ballots stolen, they stand as vulgar dupes of still more vulgar political tricksters—tools of their own economic debasement. Their chief ethical impulse lifts them only to a dull indifference.

AND YET THE DAY IS ALMOST HERE WHEN THEIR INDIFFERENCE

ENCE TO THE USE OF THE BALLOT IS TO SERVE AS THE EXCUSE FOR THEIR DISFRANCHISEMENT. THERE AND THERE THERE IS CREEPING INTO THE PRESS AND INTO CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE THE SUGGESTION, COMING FROM PERSONS IN HIGH PLACES, THAT THE BALLOT IS A FAILURE.

Such an opinion may, in the face of conditions today, be an honest one. In 1879 Henry George, the greatest spiritual nobleman whom America has yet produced, wrote:

"Given a community with republican institutions, in which one class is too rich to be shorn of its luxuries, no matter how public affairs are administered, and another so poor that a few dollars on election day will seem more than any abstract consideration; in which the few die content at a condition of things they know not how to remedy, and power must pass into the hands of jobbers who will buy and sell it as the Praetorians sold the Roman purple, or into the hands of demagogues who will seize and wield it for a time, only to be replaced by worse demagogues."

The conditions Henry George pictured in 1879 are today partially realized, and it is a feeble vision which cannot see their complete realization in America in the near future.

From such a realization to disfranchisement and arbitrary rule is but a step. Many a well-meaning but unphilosophical person discouraged by public immorality would turn with relief to a dictator who would guarantee "good" government.

Then the past would have to be fought all over again, those who believe progress is only a circle instead of a spiral actually think it will.

In the world today, however, and increasing in America with leaps and bounds, is the sentiment of Socialism. So far as we know no such concept has ever figured in any preceding civilization. Its influence on human life may therefore be unique.

The political rottenness which never can develop, from within, the vitality to clean itself and which, in every preceding republic, has been cleaned from without by military dictatorship, may at this stage be cleaned by Socialism, a higher kind of social organism.

The world may, after repeated republican failures, be now ready to take the step progress indicates as imperative. If it is not, then we will have to try again, another century or cycle.

One thing, however, seems to emerge from the chaos of present political confusion. This is that the vote for Socialism will get itself counted.

The very feebleness of political expression in the old parties, indicated by indifference in registration and to ballot box frauds, makes the Socialist vitality appear as a very positive force. And it is a positive force.

IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT ALONE RESIDES TODAY THE DYNAMIC WHICH IS TO PRESERVE THE BALLOT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

To the Socialist the ballot is sacred. It is the key with which he is to unlock the future. He will not allow it to be taken from him, and in defending his own right he will be defending the right of all.

Out of the heart of the proletariat is blazing the Promethean fire which is to purge away the rottenness of Philadelphia and all future Philadelphia, and build the city of the pure, good and common life. Franklin H. Wentworth.

## The Spirit of Socialism—Uncompromising, Yet Tolerant.

BY CARL D. THOMPSON, A. M.

The success of the Socialist propaganda depends very largely upon the spirit in which it is made. Abuse, vilification, class hatred, biting sarcasm and intolerance do not make friends of those upon whom they are heaped, nor in any sense commend the cause to intelligent people. Indeed, it has always been understood that those who resorted to such methods thereby show their lack of better arguments. And so the Socialist who manifests such a spirit at once weakens his cause.

And what is still more important, such a spirit is no necessary part of the Socialist thought. It is exactly the opposite of that which should be the spirit of Socialism. It is important to understand the class struggle, vitally so. But the class struggle does not mean class hatred. At least not to the Socialist. And the distinction makes all the difference in the world. No Socialist, it seems to me, is a worthy representative of the splendid cause of scientific Socialism who has not mastered the facts of the class struggle and their historical significance and at the same time eliminated from his being all bitterness and all narrowness and all unscientific spirit. The truth is very ignoble.

The same may be said of the question of "no compromise." This, too, is vitally important. Every movement for the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed has been defeated through some kind of a compromise. And it is certain, that as soon as the Socialist movement begins to assume any proportions in any quarter the whole ingenuity of capitalism will be set to work to devise tricks and intrigues of concession and compromise to defeat it, on the theory that some privilege of plunder better be conceded rather than lose all. So, in one sense, too much emphasis is not to be laid upon the necessity of "no compromise." But this must not be allowed to degenerate into rant and rant.

**God with Us.**  
There is no power in Wrong  
To hold us back the strong;  
All Hate is shorn of might  
Before self-conscious Right.  
Expediency's regal dress  
Falls into rage of nothingness  
Touched by the magic word  
Held fast in Truth's white hand.  
Ethelyn Bryout Chapman, 1902.

Continued from First Page.  
That is what the people, ready for revolt against a despoiling tyranny that is new even to the middle-aged, are asking, and asking with a growing passion.  
A federal republic is not the republic of the Declaration of Independence, and upon the Declaration of Independence Americans have been nurtured.  
This federalism which has emerged for its brief day out of the modern interplay of economic forces, subjects us to the rule of men who are not suited to the work of government. Large affairs, touching the well-being of the whole nation, they handle on the same principle that a small merchant does his store—strictly for personal profit.

They are no worse than other men. May have hearts to be moved and are liberal in giving, but as business men they decline to mix philanthropy with business—and an business only they regard the vast affairs they manage for gain, but which of necessity have a community, a public side in their effects.  
They are men of special ability, strong, resolute, keen, but not wide-seeing. They have brains, useful, energetic, capable brains, but not intelligent. Statesmanship is beyond them—the capacity to look on both sides while they look ahead, the wisdom to sacrifice a little in the present for the sake of a larger future good.

Being mere business men—no matter how ennobled they may be in their personal aspect, how estimable in their domestic relations, how generous in charity—they insist on viewing their business as wholly a private matter, though it embrace the land and span the ocean. Hence, as a defect of their qualities, they are almost destitute of a sense of civic obligation.

Therefore they are the irresponsible rich.  
With the power of great nobles, of whom even kings were afraid, they exercise that power in utter selfishness, and as business men feel justified.  
"I don't care what happens, no long as it doesn't happen to me," said our cavalier d'industrie of the frontier card room, son's brother to our captain of industry of New York.

What has happened to the cavalier d'industrie is that the conditions which produced and supported him have almost vanished before advancing civilization.

The same experience will happen to the captain of industry, lord in a feudal system innocent of breadth of view and empty of patriotism.  
His money-making brains—or rather those of his successors—will still find ample play. There will be no check upon their honest-earning energy. But all the special privileges which now bring him in the hundreds of millions earned by and belonging to others will be taken away from him. Those special privileges

and intolerance. It is by no means necessary to be intolerant in order to be uncompromising. Indeed, the truly scientific spirit is always tolerant. It is always the man who is sure of having risen to a higher truth who asks only for a free floor and gladly grants the same to all others. And such a spirit is simply invincible. Only the defenders of falsehood need be intolerant. The truth asks only for an open field and a chance to sow its seed.

The "Class-conscious," "scientific," "revolutionary," "clear cut" Socialist is sometimes impatient with those who believe in Socialism, but who do not exactly understand the full meaning of such phraseology. Each one of these terms carries a meaning which, when understood, is of vital importance. We caution, imply, we must be uncompromising. But we need not, therefore, be raucous critics nor ranting bigots; nor need we repeat the follies of religious dogmatism by becoming economic bigots. The most truly uncompromising spirit is the spirit that has the patience, the wisdom and the tact that enables it to make clear its position as truly scientific and therefore reasonable. The spirit of Socialism towards the unconverted must always be, "Come, let us reason together!" and never, "Believe this, or be damned!"

And this applies especially to the matter of the Socialist attitude as towards the religions. Some are anxious to distinguish between scientific and Christian Socialism. Some insist that Socialism must be hostile to Christianity and seems to go loaded for any brother who may have any religious ideas as though such were utterly incompatible with Socialism. Others, again, insist that there can be no real and true Socialism except in the name of Christ and Christianity. Both are wrong. Socialism is not a religious philosophy. And the Socialist spirit upon

are founded on monopoly—the monopoly under private ownership of things that should be owned by the public, the only rightful and safe monopolist.  
Then this feudalism, deprived of its foundation, will crumble and be pitched on to the rubbish pile of the past, adding a little to the height of the towering historic monument which man has raised to his own stupidity, his incapacity to govern himself and keep for his own the fruit of his toil.  
"I don't care a hang; it will not come in my time."

In that spirit, and the spirit of the American people, nurtured in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, in the aspirations of democracy, we have the sure promise that the feudalism of our day—new and crude and selfish and cruel and definitely undemocratic—will pass away.

It is rendering feudalism's highest service—that of preparing the ground for a better because a freer and more manly civilization.  
[And that new civilization, even as sketched above, will be Socialism.—Ed. Herald.]

Brockton, Mass., which was carried by the Socialists the other day, is the largest men's shoe-producing city in the world.

**WANTED—Every Comrade in the city to send his children to 814 State street, to sell Bazaar tickets. Elegant Christmas presents free for the sale of ten, fifteen, twenty or twenty-five tickets.**

**JULIUS LANDO**  
Optical Institute  
419 East Water St.  
and get fitted to a pair of his Celebrated Glasses. Artificial Eyes inserted without pain.

**WATCH REPAIRING**  
is our business and we give particular attention to it.

**L. SACHS, The Jeweler**  
418 National Ave., Milwaukee.  
5 and 10% off to union men.

the religious question should be one of entire tolerance. Religion is not the subject matter of Socialism at all. The only question Socialism has a right to ask of its followers is this: Are they Socialists? The man who is sure of having no right to obstruct his religious views upon the Socialist movement. Nor has the atheistic comrade a right to obstruct his atheism upon the movement. Either may state his views—both should be tolerant. Let those who believe in Jesus, or Buddha, or Zoroaster, or received dogma, or the Socialist movement without at once being informed that their religious faith must be forever renounced. And let those who believe in no God at all and in no religion be just as gladly received without being at once told that they must become religious.

As a matter of fact there has probably no philosophy ever been devised that makes possible so great a harmony and unity of human effort as Socialism rightly conceived, pagan, infidel, Christian, Jew, Buddhist, Humanist, and the best that is in every cult, sect and religion may consistently unite in the desire for Socialism. Indeed, it is with religious truth and untroth of all kinds the same as with all other Socialism will make possible the unfoldment of the best that is in them all—will set mankind free to seek their moral and spiritual ideals in such manner as their own consciences may direct.

Again, the uncompromising policy must not be made to involve hostility to Socialist measures offered by other parties. As no less an authority than Wilhelm Liebknecht says in his little pamphlet entitled, "No Compromise, 'Political' Trading," which, by the way every Socialist should read in order to get a correct idea of the German Social Democratic tactics—"So far as the bourgeoisie is capitalistic, we have to fight it; so far as the bourgeoisie oppose capitalism and the reactionism which it shields and assists, we have either to support it positively or at least not assume a hostile attitude towards it unless it gets in our line of fire." "Tactics," he says, "is determined by the nature of conditions." We are to "exploit conditions," "assist the bourgeoisie wherever it does earnestly oppose reactionism," and "draw advantages out of the opportunities of political life and utilize (for the Socialist party) the quarrels of the different opposing parties."

These quotations will serve to show, at least, that the doctrine of "no compromise" as held by our German comrades is not, after all, such a simple, unyielding and doctrinaire idea. At least not in practice.  
As the Socialist party movement grows in America these matters will assume no increasing importance. Our spirit must be scientifically uncompromising and yet it must be nobly tolerant.

### AFTER GOMPERS "DOWNED" SOCIALISM.



Sketched from the probabilities by Comrade W. J. Bennett.  
Uncle Mark (reading dispatch from New Orleans)—"Hooray, we're safe!"

Send us the names of people who may be interested in Social Democracy, that we may send them some sample copies.

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A. G. STIMMERT, optician.  
30 years' experience; eyes carefully examined free of charge; artificial eyes inserted; repairs promptly done.  
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Good Reliable Workmen's Watches at \$4.75, \$4.50, \$10.00.

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Pick out any stove you want. Pay us \$2 of its regular retail price and we will deliver and set it up in your house at once. Then come in and pay us the balance at the rate of \$1 a week.

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This store has for years been Wisconsin's greatest stove market. There is a stove here for every purpose a stove can fill, and every one is of standard make and high reputation.

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The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous.

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The main difference between good beer and bad beer is in the after-effect. You notice that pure beer, Schlitz beer, does not make you bilious. Pure beer is good for you; bad beer is unhealthy. You may be absolutely certain of its healthfulness when you drink Schlitz Beer.

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Shaving and Hair Cutting Parlor.  
Fine Line of Union Made Cigars  
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SEE THAT THIS LABEL IS ON ALL BOXES.

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Meets Second and Fourth Wednesdays, Sixth and Chestnut Street.  
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Agent for the Herald: Joseph A. Breake.

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N. C. SCHWINN, Secretary,  
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FAC-SIMILE OF UNION LABEL.  
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No. 25, office and employment bureau, 318 State Street. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesday, at 602 Chestnut St. J. Reichert, Financial secretary.



## Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields.

### Notes from Yankee-land.

Canadian Socialists are planning a dramatic club.

A tour of Canada is being arranged for Mother Jones.

Port Huron (Mich.) comrades will agitate with a phonograph.

Editor Richardson of the Pueblo Courier lost his residence by fire recently.

The national headquarters at St. Louis have been removed to room 18, Allen building.

Our comrades in Minneapolis were flagrantly counted out at the polls at the recent elections.

Local charters have been granted to Rutland, Vt., and Troy, Arizona, by the national headquarters.

Comrade Gaylord, state organizer for Wisconsin, will speak on Socialism in Rev. Titsworth's church, Van Buren and Oneida streets, Milwaukee, Sunday evening.

The Living Church, the national organ of the Episcopal Church in this country, has a warm discussion of Socialism on it. It is being carried on, "no and no," by correspondents and some interesting letters have resulted. The discussion was started by Comrade Isaac Peterson of Minneapolis.

The Socialists and Prohibitionists are preparing to lock horns in a hot debate at New Castle, Pa. Debs, McGraw and Hagerty will hold up the Socialist end, while the Prohibitionists will be represented by Oliver Steward, national chairman, Judge Cushing of Maine and Rev. Dr. Swallow of Harrisburg, Pa.

In the city of Anacostia, Md., the labor people banded themselves together, put a ticket in the field and won out. They sent five to the Legislature: elected sheriff, county attorney, commissioner, one judge, two constables, county treasurer, school superintendent—all the county ticket except one Democrat and one Republican. They have now turned over to the Socialist party and start out with 150 members.

Engene V. Debs lectured last week at Lansing, Mich. He said: "The trust is business reduced to a science, and labor has no quarrel with any system which shall make lighter its burdens. We want the trusts run for the benefit of those upon whom they depend."

Under the law of love and fraternity, the profits shall be equally distributed in the form of lighter labor, broader, higher thought and equal enjoyment of privileges, divine intended to be as free as the sun rays, but not controlled for the benefit of the few."

In filing his account of campaign expenses, Comrade Richard Elmer of Milwaukee also swore to the following: "Affiant further swears that he did not spend any money whatever as such candidate, but did spend time by delivering nineteen addresses on Socialism in showing to his fellow citizens the dividing process that takes place every day under the present system of capitalism, of which the capitalists are the sole beneficiaries, breeding all the evils, ills, wroaths, political bribery, crimes, etc., reported by the daily capitalistic press." There's nothing like making propaganda on all possible occasions.

Cincinnati, Dec. 7.—Father Thompson, pastor of St. Anthony's Church in Bellevue, Ky., a suburb of this city on the Kentucky side of the river, announced to his congregation this morning that he would retire from the church.

This action of the priest was taken on account of his pronounced Socialistic views, which he has advocated in the magazines and from the lecture platform for several years. Father McGraw has been warned and admonished by his superiors in the church to discontinue his course, but he has steadily refused and in reply to orders from Bishop Maes of Covington, Ky., submitted a composition covering the theory of Socialism and demanded a reply.

He said in his pulpit this morning that the bishop ignored his letter, and for the reason that if he condemned the propo-

sition he would thereby condemn the teachings of the first four centuries, and if he approved them he would subscribe to Socialism. Father McGraw said to retract any of his writings was to stigmatize himself before the public and that it would be against his conscience.

"I desire to protect myself from the charge of idleness," he said, "and my memory from everlasting ignominy."

### Wisconsin Notes.

This has been a great week for the Thompson lecture tour. Our route for Comrade Thompson as now planned reaches way into February, and we are expecting to stretch it still more as the returns come in on the last few days.

New London engages the Grand Opera House, and will sell tickets in advance at 15 cents to pay expenses for the two nights.

We shall have a Socialist book depository on the south side in Milwaukee by the end of this week. Comrade Frank-



Carl D. Thompson.

This cat is a fairly good likeness of Comrade Carl D. Thompson, who contributes an article to this week's Herald, and who is to tour Wisconsin in January and February under the management of our Socialist lecture bureau. He is coming to be known as one of the best all-around lecturers and campaigners in the movement. Comrades having an opportunity to hear him will do well to make good use of it, for he is an inspiring teacher and an accomplished orator.

leton has offered some shelves in his book store on National avenue, and the literary agent will put in a full line of books and pamphlets.

Hacine, Chilton and Tomahawk are among the new ones on the Thompson tour. Keep it up, but hurry!

Comrades, keep watch on the Union Labor ticket movements! They will do the unions more harm than they can do good, and will be the occasion of divisions among workmen and exploitation by "labor leaders." Head them off by an active propaganda for the Social Democratic ticket.

Work up the ward lists of voters, comrades, so that you will be in a position to push the matter of ward organization. Begin it in the branches by buying those who live in the various wards tell all of whom they know, and then hustle to find out the others. The Thompson lectures will help to make this possible, by awakening those who have been silent sympathizers to enthusiasm, and finally persuading the men who have been "on the fence."

The first lecture of the National Hall Lecture course came off in fine shape, with a good attendance. Henry Smith was present, and tried to use the occasion to advertise the fact that he was "as good a Socialist as anyone in the hall," but the comrades persuaded him that he was mistaken about it before he was through.

Word came to us last week that Comrade Ernst Pagel of Wausau had passed

to his long home. Thna the old war-horses are passing away, and new ones are needed to take their places.

We trust that the Milwaukee comrades will turn out to hear Comrade Gaylord at the Plymouth Congregational Church next Sunday evening. He has been invited to speak there, as a representative of Socialism. There is no admission fee at any of the regular church meetings, of which this is one.

### Toy Bazaar Notes.

How quick the time does pass. Next week—the week of the children's delight. Don't forget, afternoon and evening, December 18, 19, 20 and 21.

Ten unions and the Federated Trades' Council have signified their intention of sending delegates to the general arrangements committee.

Even Chicago comrades are interested. One has donated a live sheep.

Comrade Carl Kleist is back at his old game. He's the book-keeper.

An excellent programme was reported by the entertainment committee both for afternoons and evenings.

Over 8000 tickets are already out. How's that?

The programme committee reported that copy for advertisements in the programme must be in absolutely not later than Sunday morning, 10 o'clock, December 14. This committee meets at that time at Goetz Bros., 536 Market street, where copy should be sent to.

As the hall will require a great deal of decorating and shelving, etc., all comrades of the party are requested to assemble at Freie Gemeinde hall, 262 Fourth street, on the evening of December 17 to assist in this work. Not less than 100 men will be required.

Prizes Offered to Children for the Sale of Toy Bazaar Tickets.

#### GIRL'S LIST.

For the sale of 25 tickets, an elegant \$1.50 movable joint, finely dressed doll, or a \$1.50 go-cart with steel wheels; free.

For the sale of 10 tickets, a doll dressed in silk worth \$1.00, or a girl's rocking chair; free.

For the sale of 15 tickets, a 75c fancy dressed doll, or a cradle, price 75c, free.

For the sale of 20 tickets, a 50c 36 inch hardwood clipper sled, or a good \$1.50 air rifle; free.

For the sale of 25 tickets, a \$1.50 48-inch hardwood clipper sled, or a pair of club skates with cast steel runners, hollow ground, and sharpened, worth \$1.00; free.

For the sale of 30 tickets, a 75c 36 inch hardwood clipper sled, or a 50c 30-inch clipper sled, or a three-bladed, pearl handle pocket knife; free.

Tickets can be procured at C. T. H. Westphal, 311 Third street; Fred H. Leist, 430 Greenfield avenue; Social Democratic Herald, 614 State street.

Children will be supplied with as many tickets as they require on credit.

One Hundred Subscriptions..... \$10.00

Can You, Your Branch or Local Invest \$10.00?

If so, send in 100 Names and addresses, your ten dollars, we'll do the rest.

Social Democratic Herald, 614 State Street, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

Send us \$2.00

We'll return \$2.50.

How? Easy enough. Value of one subscription card 50 cts. Ave. \$2.50. Tickle us with a two-dollar bill and we'll tickle you with five sub. cards.

Social Democratic Herald.

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LAWRENCE'S ORIGINAL 3c. LUNCH ROOM

OPEN ALL NIGHT.

Headquarters for a good lunch or meal at moderate prices.

OUR MOTTO: CLEANLINESS. QUICK SERVICE.

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"Elin" 10c. "Old Judge" 5c.

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Absolutely Without Pain or Danger.

New Teeth—Best and finest manufactured in the world, fit guaranteed or money refunded, \$8.

Fine Fillings—That stay in and do not turn dark, cost no more than work done by inferior workmen or students.

Crowns and Bridge Teeth, \$5.

We guarantee complete satisfaction, give honest, intelligent advice free and deceive nobody.

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Order Your Holiday Herring, Fresh Fish, Etc., from Phone, Blue 454. F. TEWS, 273 First Ave.

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Square and Round Heaters, Cook Stoves and Ranges of all descriptions at the lowest prices in the city.

Also all kinds of Furniture at low prices.

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MY BRANDS—Santiago de Cuba, G. L. 10c Cigar, Golden Harvest, Lone Star, No. 355 6c Cigar.

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Reliable Boots, Shoes & Rubbers,

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Make Boots and Shoes in all Styles to order.

DR. H. C. BERGER, Physician.

Office Hours—10 to 11 A. M., 2 to 3 P. M. and 7 to 8 Evenings.

Office: 12th St. and Garfield Ave., Tel. Clark 14.

Residence: 752 Eighth St., Tel. North 155.

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945 Clinton St., Cor. Lincoln Ave., MILWAUKEE

Fine Wines, Liquors and Cigars. Telephone No. 8823 Blue.

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ALMOST TIME FOR THE

## Grand Toy Bazaar

Children's Festival

A Magnificent Exhibition of Toys,

Is almost at hand. Only a few days off! Cheer up your little ones by taking them to this show and incidentally save money on your Christmas purchases. Let the hosts of Socialists march on and take possession of

Freie Gemeinde Hall, 262 Fourth Street,

Afternoon and Evening, Dec. 18, 19, 20, 21, 1902

Admission 10 Cents. Season Tickets 25 Cents. Tickets for Sale by Everybody. Sold Only at the Door.

The Bohemian S. D. Branch...

"VOLNOST"

will hold their

Second Anniversary Celebration

on Dec. 13, at

FRANK CTIBORS' HALL

1326 Fond du Lac Ave.

Comrades and Friends are Cordially Invited.

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Your System out of order?

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THE GREAT HOUSEHOLD REMEDY

A Stomach Tonic

It restores you to health and the full vim, vigor and happiness of life.

An Unexcelled Appetizer

Mishler's Herb Bitter Co.

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A large and desirable stock, all our own manufacture.

By buying here you save the dealer's profit, which means a saving of 25%. Also a large selection of canes at rock bottom prices. Call and look over this stock before making your purchase.

FELDMAN'S UMBRELLA STORE, 304 Third Street.

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NICK PETERSEN, Proprietor,

2714 North Ave., Milwaukee

Telephone West 3684.

## WHAT THE WILLING WORKERS ARE ABOUT.

### AGENTS FOR THE HERALD.

L. Jaster, 42 Gouverneur street, New York, takes subscriptions for this paper.

S. L. Hardy, 197 Clifton street, New York, N. Y.

N. Roeweasweet, news dealer, corner Tenth and Market streets, Philadelphia.

E. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago.

Max Haller, 363 Sedgwick street, Chicago. Milwaukee agents:

Carl Malewaki, 1151 Twenty-third street.

Paul Maeller, Brown and Thirty-first street.

Nick Petersen, 2714 North avenue.

Carl Kleist, 740 Third-second street.

Fred. Leist, 430 Greenfield avenue.

### From The Mail Bag.

St. Paul, Minn., Oct. 23.—Social Democratic Herald: I wish you would apply your editorial red hot poker to the hide of the people who run that vile capitalist sheet called Collier's Weekly, as they print in their issue of Oct. 11th that a vile scoundrel from the pen of an alleged correspondent in regard to the coal strike. The whole article is one which should be branded as a pack of lies from beginning to end.

I do hope something can be done that will teach those scoundrels the power of the rapidly growing class consciousness of workmen.

Thos. C. P. Myers.

Collier's has apparently concluded to change its point of view, if a recent full page illustration showing the rich existing at the expense of the poor, is an indication. (Ed. S. D. H.)

Benton Harbor, Mich., Oct. 12.—Editor Herald: A very well off money-lender here, was speaking of the Cox's army incident being repeated during the coal strike, and I said to him: "Well, you belong to the army, don't you?"

"Why, how so?" says he.

"I thought you belonged to the army," I replied, "as I have never seen you do any work." I replied. Again, a rich land owner and would-be labor grinder told me "These lazy fellows around on the streets are worthless, don't want to work."

He came looking round the job we then had as contractors neat day when we needed a laborer and I said: "Cheer up, what a job!"

I need a man to shovel sand very bad and you're the first idle man I've seen this morning." But he didn't want work. Niti!

Then I said: "There's one of those fellows you told me were in good yesterday and wouldn't work if he had it. He's at work."

all right. But the fact is, I never knew you to do any useful work in your life." Put it into such fellows, comrades, whenever you can. Make them either hate or like you, as both these men like me better now than before. They know we are on to them. They want to be respected in the foundation of Socialism and in years to come you will be proud of it.

O. M. Southworth.

Newport, Ky., Dec. 1.—Social Democratic Herald: The Socialists of Kentucky send greetings to their comrades in Wisconsin. We have read of the splendid vote polled in Milwaukee and several other cities, and are confident that your state will show a great gain over the preceding election.

H. N. Lesterman, Secy.

New York, Dec. 2.—Social Democratic Herald: Let me offer my hearty congratulations on the splendid increase in your vote in Wisconsin. I hope you will continue growing in the future as you have in the past.

H. Gaylord Wilshire.

Cincinnati, Dec. 7.—Social Democratic Herald: Father McGraw of Bellevue, Ky., resigned from the priesthood this morning to go into the Socialist movement.

We have just secured Maes Hall, the largest in the city, with a seating capacity of 5000, for Wednesday evening, December 17, for him to tell why he resigned. Great sensation.

E. H. Vaapel.

### The British Elections.

The following shows the results for the Socialists in the recent British elections:

Candidates Elected.

I. L. P. and Joint I. L. P. .... 67 26

Trade Unions ..... 29 11

### MALE HELP.

YOUNG MEN WANTED to learn telegraphy, day or evening. We attend to positions when competent to do the work. Write or call for prospectus. MILWAUKEE TEL-BORAPH SCHOOL, 4th floor Germania Bldg.

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